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Writing Settlement after Idle No More:

Non-Indigenous Responses in Anglo-Canadian Poetry[1]

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Settlement has been a central focus of Anglo-Canadian literature since its very beginnings, including Frances Brooke's *A History of Emily Montague* (1769), John Richardson's *Wacousta* (1832) and *The Canadian Brothers* (1840), and the work of sisters Catherine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie in *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836), *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852), and *Life in the Clearings* (1853), to name some prominent examples. Much of this eighteenth and nineteenth-century literature, as well as subsequent works, functioned to establish what Daniel Coleman calls Canadian "white civility," that is, a "specific form of whiteness based on a British model of civility" (2006, 5). If earlier Anglo-Canadian literature and nationalism "gradually reified the privileged, normative status of British whiteness in English Canada" (6-7), it also had "to forget the history of genocide and cultural decimation of Indigenous peoples in Canada that is disavowed by the image of the peaceful settler" (8). For Margery Fee, a national literature "constitutes a land claim," and because of "the white settler's need to appropriate the legitimacy conferred by priority, the imaginary Indian was situated directly as the Other of white civility" (2015, 1, 10). At the same time, Canada's "fantasy" of peaceful settlement (Razack 2002, 2) depends partly on the claim that "the colonisers of Canada [were] more generous than those of the USA," which has helped "construct a settler national identity perceived as innocent of racism" (Mackey 1999, 38).

Resistance by Indigenous peoples to this nation-state mythology throughout Canada's history, and especially at particular flashpoints such as the White Paper of

1969, which explicitly advocated the assimilation of Indigenous peoples, the so-called Oka Crisis in 1990, and, most recently, Idle No More, has repeatedly challenged these long-fostered notions of benevolent Canadian settlement. This article examines the representation of settlement in Canada in Anglo-Canadian poetry after the advent of Idle No More. In analyzing works by non-Indigenous authors, Arleen Paré, Rachel Zolf, Rita Wong, and Shane Rhodes, I suggest that Idle No More, which "may be the largest, broad based, grass roots social and political movement to unfold in Canadian history" (Simpson 2016a) in its resistance to the Harper government's omnibus budget Bill C-45 in particular and to the perpetuation of colonial relations and environmental exploitation more generally, engendered a shift in the positioning of non-Indigenous peoples in Canada, some of whom began to self-identify as settlers and allies. We see this shift in the work of these twenty-first-century poets, as they offer considerable alterations of literary representation of settlement as non-Indigenous Canadians owning up to their complicity with settlement's continuing imbrication in colonial violence and dispossession.

Idle No More hardly constitutes the first example of Indigenous resistance in, and to, Canada: as Idle No More co-founder Sylvia McAdam asserts, "Idle No More resistance began long before in different names, different locations through the generations since the arrival of the Europeans" (McAdam 2014, 65). But the movement has represented a shift in the form of resistance, its scale and geographical spread, and a greater involvement by non-Indigenous allies. Ken Coates argues that "Idle No More has transformed Canadian politics and public life," partly through its divergence from previous manifestations of Indigenous resistance: "[i]t was joyous—more celebratory than angry. It was cultural more than it was political. Drumming and singing, long marches and Round Dances are its legacy, not speeches and slogans"

(2015, 198). And yet, as Glen Coulthard points out, Idle No More encompassed different phases and different strategies. The movement's December 2012 tactics of "'flash mob' round-dancing and drumming in public spaces like shopping malls, street intersections, and legislature grounds, coupled with conferences, teach-ins, and public panels," would be accompanied by "blockades and temporary train and traffic stoppages," including a two-week-long railroad blockade by the Aamjiwnaang First Nation in Ontario (2014, 161). From its inception in late 2012 "as an education campaign designed to inform Canadians about a particularly repugnant and undemocratic piece of legislation," Idle No More would "erup[t] by mid-January 2013 into a full-blown defense of Indigenous land and sovereignty" (161). Just as Idle No More deployed a multiplicity of tactics, so too it brought together a number of interrelated concerns, its multifaced nature integral to the movement: "There were those focused on the omnibus legislation, others who mobilized to protect land and support the resurgence of Indigenous nations, some who demanded justice for the hundreds of missing and murdered Indigenous women, and still others who worked hard to educate and strengthen relationships with non-Indigenous allies. Many did all of this at once" (The Kino-nda-niimi Collective 2014b, 23). The grassroots basis of Idle No More, as well as the movement's global reach, were aided by the use of social media, which, in "harness[ing] the power of the 'participatory web' and 'open source' ideology," became "instrumental in giving Aboriginal people a platform and providing unprecedented access to audiences among Indigenous peoples and supporters in Canada and around the world" (Coates 2015, 173, 192).

In the work of poets Paré, Zolf, Wong, and Rhodes, we see non-Indigenous responses to the diverse strands of Idle No More as they rethink the history and present of settlement in Canada, each representing different relationships to dominant

versions of Canadianness and different inflections of the term "settler." As Emma Battell Lowman and Adam J. Barker observe, Idle No More ushered in a shift in the use of the term "settler": although "settler" (as well as "settler-invader") was in use prior to Idle No More, the development of the movement facilitated the circulation of "this debated and debatable term," which, previously "all but unknown and unused in Canada outside of a small circle of academics and activists, stuck" (2015, 2). "Settler," when adopted and deployed as "a shortened version of *settler colonials*" (Vowel 2016, 16), underscores the ongoing relevance and injustice of colonialism in Canada. When used by non-Indigenous people in the present day, it suggests that "white settlers can transcend their bloody beginnings and contemporary inequalities by remembering and confronting the racial hierarchies that structure our lives" (Razack 2002, 5). Although, as I discuss below, Wong's racialized identity inflects her settler status in Canada in particular ways, all four of these poets confront Canada's racial hierarchies and their structuring of life within the nation-state's borders, with implications for Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations.

Indeed, self-positioning as "settler" has been one way in which non-Indigenous Canadians attempt to work as allies of Indigenous peoples. Paula Sherman of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation indicates that during her nation's attempt to protect their land from uranium exploration in 2007, "[t]he private land owners who supported us […] called themselves settlers in respect for the fact that they were living on Algonquin land and because they understood the nature of our relationships within our homeland" (2010, 234). Thus, to self-identify as settler both draws distinctions between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples and signals respect for and solidarity with Indigenous nations, emphasizing "non-Indigenous complicity in Canada's ongoing colonial project" at the same time as it implies "solidarity with the

decolonization projects of Indigenous people" (Phung 2011, 296). Part of Idle No More's uniqueness as an Indigenous resistance movement, as Pam Palmater indicates, stems from its inclusion of "non-natives [*sic*] as our allies" (2013) who see that, in McAdam's words, "Indigenous sovereignty and Treaties are the last stand protecting our lands and waters" (quoted in Harden 2013, 70). However, although, "[a]mazingly, more and more settler people are recognizing and understanding, as a people we cannot continue to devastate the very things we needed to sustain humanity—our lands and waters—for the generations to come" (McAdam 2014, 67), the range of non-Indigenous responses to Idle No More and earlier moments of Indigenous resistance indicates that not all Canadians welcome the rearticulation of their identities as settlers or the challenge to Canada's exploitation of natural resources. Further, as Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox argues, solidarity between Indigenous peoples and settler allies is fragile:

> I am somewhat sceptical about the willingness of settlers to support a movement in a sustained way on the basis of either moral responsibility or self-interest. I have found that even the most supportive settlers have a privilege line they refuse to cross. It is the existence of that line and the refusal to cross it which requires [*sic*] long-term effort. […] In the short term some settlers may show support as a way to leverage Indigenous unrest to achieve their own social or environmental agendas. But over the long term, settlers must engage in personal transformation to entrench meaningful decolonization. (2014, 224)

Fundamentally, allyship must operate not simply through short-term solidarities where settler-invaders find common cause with Indigenous resistance in a way that is expedient to addressing settler concerns. In their works discussed below, Paré, Zolf,

Wong, and Rhodes demonstrate "[a] willingness to decentre [themselves] and to learn and act from a place of responsibility" (Walia 2014, 46-47) as they own up to and critique their complicity in the nation-state's violence to Indigenous nations, in the past and in the present. Each of these texts, published within the first two years of Idle No More, offers new understandings and representations of (neo)colonial settlement in post-Idle No More Canada, including non-Indigenous relationships to the land and their reliance on dispossession of Indigenous peoples, contamination of their territories, and the state's genocidal policies—cultural and otherwise—that work to underpin settler dominance and to enact "an ongoing 'settling' of this land" (Simpson 2016a). Whereas Paré and Zolf write from a post-Idle No More position without explicit reference to the movement, Wong and Rhodes address Idle No More directly.

Arleen Paré's collection *Lake of Two Mountains* (2014) looks back on an earlier flashpoint of Indigenous resistance, the standoff at Kanehsatake, but after a time lapse that encompasses Idle No More, as the poems' speaker articulates both her love for and her lack of claim to the Mohawk territory. As Kiera L. Ladner and Leanne Simpson write, "For many Canadians, 'Oka' was the first time they encountered Indigenous anger, resistance and standoff" (2010, 2). The standoff is prominent in the history of Indigenous resistance in Canada "because we saw those powerful images every night on the news for months—images that became a defining moment for many of us. Images that generated unprecedented Indigenous response in the form of solidarity blockades across Turtle Island," to the point that it became "a defining moment for so many of us (Indigenous and Canadian alike)" (2010, 3). As Peter H. Russell notes, most flashpoint events of Indigenous resistance in Canada have occurred since 1990 (2010, 30), making the standoff at Kanehsatake a

particularly powerful point of reference for Indigenous resistance and point of comparison with Idle No More.

Published two years after the birth of Idle No More, Paré's *Lake of Two Mountains* focuses on the eponymous lake, its history and the competing claims made in relation to it, namely by monks, the Mohawk, and the speaker's family. The speaker both evinces a nostalgia for her childhood summers at the lake and expresses a recognition, in the wake of the standoff at Kanehsatake, that her claims to belonging are far more tenuous than the Mohawks'. The poem "Whose Lake?" offers a literal example of Fee's notion of "literary land claims" (2015) while simultaneously undermining the speaker's own claim. Each stanza focuses on a different claim, beginning with "the man / with the speedboat," who asserts the lake is his, then Frère Gabriel, who believes it is God's, before the speaker articulates the basis of her claim:

> My lake you say
> and the lake of your sister
> because your grandfather
> and mother and aunts
> and your uncle
> once owned the white house up the road
> and you stayed every summer
> and swam every day
> rain or shine (Paré 2014, 36)[2]

Yet the speaker's claim is immediately juxtaposed to—and therefore countered by—the claims of the Mohawk:

> Our lake say the Mohawks
> and the lake of our dead

because they lived

here or near enough here

and died here

if not from time immemorial

at least almost as long (36)

The final claim of the poem is that of "the woman / who rents you the room" (37), emphasizing the speaker's lack of belonging. As with the rest of the poems in *Lake of Two Mountains* there is no "I," substituted instead with the second person, which, although not uncommon in contemporary poetry, has the effect throughout this collection of accentuating the uncertainty of the speaker's claim. As Robinder Kaur Sehdev writes, "Our thinking on the Kanehsatà:ke resistance speaks volumes about the lines of inclusion and exclusion implicit in the articulation of those difficult pronouns: *us, we, ours*" (2010, 106). In eschewing the first person, therefore, Paré conveys the faultlines in the speaker's inclusion and sense of belonging in this territory.

The multiplicity of claims articulated in "Whose Lake?" returns to ownership, and a lack thereof, for the presumably non-Indigenous figures: the man with the speedboat whose "uncle / once owned a camp at Rigaud"; the speaker's uncle who once owned the house up the road; the woman who rents the speaker a room and "owns the patio chairs / and the curved turquoise pool / and the long windy fore-shore" (36-37). But the Mohawks' claim, unlike the others, is expressed communally ("our lake"), based on centuries of history of living on the land, dying there, being buried there, in contrast to the claims of non-Indigenous figures whose "current legitimacy as owners or renters in a capitalist land market might well be predicated upon theft, fraud, violence, and other injustices in the past" (Cariou 2006, 727-28).

Indeed, in the poem "Kanesatake," the speaker experiences "a sense of trespass […] you decide to turn back" (29) and asks:

> not that you live here but
>
> would you leave if you had to
>
> (your life being trespass) […]
>
> this not being your people's original place (30)

The speaker doubles her own lack of claim, emphasizing both that she does not live on this land and that her ancestors were not born in this territory.

Prior to the standoff at Kanehsatake, as Audra Simpson notes, the Mohawk "had endured two centuries of sustained land expropriation" (2014, 150). Indeed, the standoff "was not an isolated event," but rather "the latest in a series of standoffs over the same disputed land—in 1721, 1868, 1959, 1969, and 1990" (McCall 2011, 80). Despite this litany of standoffs, however, 1990 constituted "a 'watershed' moment so disorienting in this history of Indian-white relations in Canada" (Simpson 2014, 153), as indicated by Paré's poem "Oka Crisis." This poem demonstrates the rupture in the speaker's relationship to this place: "You saw the war start on your sister's TV/ masks and camouflage gear. Before that, / you saw nothing at all" (59). The speaker's ignorance stems from the teachings of "High-school history, / blue textbook, Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant" (59). If the land is "Owned / by the Feds, purchased / from centuries of history, / Sulpician priests, City Hall," the speaker reminds us that it is "Unceded by Mohawks / who keep living there, who claim it, / time immemorial, claim the pines that secure the small hill, / claim their dead buried under the pines" (60). Paré describes the events in 1990 thus:

> Long-standing tombstones,
>
> golf course expansion,

who owns the land,

what was taken, which priests, who owns

the trees. Nation to nation. (61)

The speaker acknowledges this view as retrospective: "Twenty years ago, police raided the pines. / History—lake or rapids, seen or unseen—rivers on" (61). Significantly, Paré uses the phrase, "nation to nation," the model of relationship between Indigenous peoples and Canada recommended in the Final Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996, established in the wake of the standoff at Kanehsatake, however much "the commission's vision of a nation-to-nation relationship 'ultimately set aside Aboriginal understandings of nationhood'" (McCall 2014, 114). Arguably, because "little enough has changed in the past two decades to suggest that we have reached an era of post-colonial tranquillity" (Battell Lowman and Barker 2015, 3), Paré's use of "nation to nation" is all the more crucial as a reflection on the 1990 standoff. Moreover, one of Idle No More's founding principles was "to reframe the nation to nation relationship" (quoted in Coates 2015, 159), an indication that by the time of *Lake of Two Mountain*'s publication, this conceptualization of Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations was in need of urgent attention.

I suggest that *Lakes of Two Mountains* constitutes the speaker's developing awareness of the implications of a nation-to-nation relationship, showing respect for Mohawk territory as her own claims to the lake unravel and a sense of shame emerges. Reminders of the speaker's lack of claim proliferate: "Summer House Revisited" begins, "A notice on your house (which is not / yours anymore)" (11), the lack of ownership accentuated by the line break between "not" and "yours." The recurring figure of Frère Gabriel in the collection (and his insistence that it is God's

lake) suggests this settler believes himself to be "not 'land hungry,' but rather spiritually tied to it, and, therefore, fit to govern justly," as Fee summarises a Romantic "singular national imaginary" (2015, 49). But Paré reworks religious imagery in relation to the speaker to undermine religious claims to the land in "Map of the Lake," structuring the poem around a series of imperatives, instructions to map the lake:

> Show the settlement called Kanesatake,
> pine trees, a graveyard, some hills. Use the dark green.
> Fashion a flag, red, yellow and black, to remember
> the Crisis two decades ago. Bow your head. (19)

The bowing of the speaker's head does not signify prayer, but rather acknowledgment of Mohawk claim, as indicated by the flag, and perhaps also the shame for having "[seen] nothing at all" before the crisis. The speaker explicitly articulates shame in "Northern Gate": "shame, your shame is being in the wrong place"; "Shame is / the failure to belong sufficiently to what is beloved" (62). Thus, any nostalgia the speaker feels for her childhood summers is always already bound up in the recognition of her "failure to belong sufficiently." And yet, the speaker also acknowledges that her nostalgia, her own crisis of belonging, makes no difference to the lake itself: "What difference if the lake changes—/ or if you belong?" (78).

In engaging with the discourse of mapping, Paré invokes colonialism and land expropriation. As Dallas Hunt and Shaun A. Stevenson note, a map is "a mechanism of power that produces particular, hegemonic forms of knowledge within the colonial landscape" and "a form of knowledge that has the power to dispossess" (2016, 4). But if "[m]aps become an instrument of certainty through which the nation-state and ensuing settlers achieve a sense of political, legal and even sentimental entitlement to

the land" (4), Paré undermines the mapping exercise in her poem, even as she confronts her own nostalgia:

> […] Use the blue. The lake
> is usually brown but no one believes
> a brown lake.
> This is a map, not real life. (17)

The continuing colonial relations between settler-invader Canadians and Indigenous peoples are evident in the instruction to "[b]ase the map loosely / on *Oceans and Fisheries, Map 1500*" (17), settler-colonial government documentation imbricated in resource extraction. Paré highlights the cleave between the land itself and the map, emphasizing again the lack of fit between cartographic convention and land, noting the Ottawa River's "water is brown, but again choose the blue" (19). Further, the land's relation to time cannot be reflected in the map:

> Colour the lake's two eponymous mountains.
> The sun used to slip behind them at eight, but who knows
> what time it is now. This is a map;
> maps change all the time. (19)

Thus, maps prove to be unreliable, and "geographical knowledge continues to be produced, acquired and imposed as a fundamental technique of shoring up dominant conceptualizations of the Canadian landscape" (Hunt and Stevenson 2016, 3). In concluding the poem with the line, "Mark the place: 'You are here'" (20), Paré not only deploys cartographic convention but also inserts her speaker within the colonial cartography, underscoring her complicity with the imperial grasp of the nation-state.

If the speaker constantly foregrounds her lack of ownership at (and of) the lake throughout *Lake of Two Mountains*, she also owns up to her settler positioning.

Paré clearly identifies her speaker with the ethnic majority in Canada whose ongoing presence and dominance signals "the fact that settlement, as a facet of colonialism, continues" (Vowel 2016, 17):

> would you leave if you had to […]
>
> and where would you go?
>
> to Ireland's south-west where your mother's people are from
>
> or to Antrim where your father's father or Glasgow
>
> where your father was born
>
> displacements and exile […]
>
> can you go back
>
> to where
>
> you have never been? (30)

If the speaker feels she does not belong to Northern Ireland or Scotland, neither can she lay claim to Mohawk territory. Foregrounding the standoff at Kanehsatake constitutes a turning point in her understanding of Indigenous relationships to the land and the lake. The publication of this collection in 2014, following the birth of Idle No More, invites us to reflect on the standoff through the Idle No More's recalibration of what it means to be a settler, and to view *Lake of Two Mountains*' speaker in the context of allyship as she works towards imagining a nation-to-nation relationship between Canadians and the Mohawk.

Despite the use of the second person, as though the poet speaks of another person's experiences, Paré's collection appears to be largely based on personal recollection of her childhood, combined with the multiple histories of the lake in primarily lyric poetry. In contrast, Rachel Zolf's *Janey's Arcadia* (2014), published the same year as Paré's *Lake of Two Mountains*, disrupts lyric convention through her

deployment of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) scanning software to intervene in the colonial discourse of both earlier Canadian texts and present-day neocolonial society. Zolf draws on the histories and texts of Emily Murphy (as Janey Canuck) and the Reverends John West, James Evans, and J.S. Woodsworth. Given the errors common to OCR, such as misrecognition of letters and other characters, Zolf's poetics derives from disrupting these colonial texts through OCR, reading this discourse both figuratively and materially through a present-day lens. Rather than simply target historical settlers, however, Zolf also draws attention to her own positioning, most explicitly in the piece "What Said Author Says of the Canadian North-Wasp [*sic*]," which lists "the settler Rachel Zolf" alongside her grandfather, "the settler Falk Zolf" and other settlers, including Murphy, West, Evans, Woodsworth, and Kathy Acker (Zolf 2014, 116).[3] In referring to herself as "the author," Zolf uses the third person, in contrast to Paré's second-person speaker. Yet both third- and second-person voices allow the poets to distance their texts from themselves, holding themselves and their settler privilege to account. Zolf also writes in the first person to detail the presence of her grandfather "in North End Winnipeg in 1929 to teach Yiddish to neighbourhood schoolchildren," whom Zolf locates in the context of Woodsworth's "operat[ing] the All People's Mission" (119) in the same area of the city earlier in the twentieth century, therefore constructing her own lineage of settlement in Canada.

Zolf offers a Derridean reading of her own work and its use of OCR scanning in the piece "What Else Said Author Says": "While the software blithely surveils and recognizes characters without meaning, OCR is also notoriously prone to noisy glitches or 'errors of recognition' of seemingly unreadable text. These accidents can, perhaps (in Derrida's torqued messianic sense of *peut-être*), conjure other forms of

mis- and non- and dis- and un-recognition—and hauntological error" (117). Thus, Zolf disrupts the colonial, white supremacist texts of settler-invaders such as Murphy/Janey Canuck, West, Evans, and Woodsworth on the page. Often physically difficult to read, the textual disruptions force the twenty-first-century reader to confront the fact of "not-post-colonial 'North America'" while finding her way through this "poesis of acknowledgement and response-ability and honouring treaty" (117). While some textual ruptures clearly result from OCR scanning (especially when book titles and page numbers suddenly appear in the midst of narrative prose, interrupting a sentence), other ruptures imitate OCR, especially in the texts more conventionally presented as poems. On the one hand, the reader works to translate the disrupted text "back" into its original state to clarify the text's "meaning"; on the other hand, the disrupted text *is* the clarified text. For instance, when "Jes$s" (30) rather than "Jesus" appears, the fusion of capitalism and Christianity (and therefore, implicitly, imperialism) is always already a translation. Similarly, "Janey Settler-Invader" tells us that "[a] half-caste Louis / Riel was educated for the scared office against all / the religions tampering with the languages" (59); the anagrammatic "error" ("scared" rather than "sacred") both appears as a typo and conveys the colonial anxiety of Christianity in a settler-invader Canadian context.

But Zolf does not absolve present-day Canada or merely point out that Canadians in earlier decades of the twentieth century were racist. Ostensibly about settlement in a historical context, *Janey's Arcadia* reminds us that settlement is ongoing (and Zolf's inclusion, in "Janey's Settler's Commons," of a reference to Palestinians in Jerusalem, held "back" by the "wall of partition" [65], significantly draws implicit parallels between continuing settlement in the occupied territories and in Canada). OCR is not merely a lens through which to read the past according to our

own, twenty-first-century sensibilities and/or discourses of critique. The disruption it offers, which Zolf both deploys and imitates, produces anachronism that pertains not simply to the past but also to the present. In fact, various forms of anachronism allow the text to speak simultaneously to and about past and present. In "Concentration," the line "I stand before you today to offer an apology" immediately resonates for the Canadian reader with the discourse of apology for residential schools, but this line precedes the assertion, "The preservation / in the instruction of the n#tive children / of your culture is your job" (20). The substitution of the number sign for the "a" in "native" invokes both the assigning of numbers to Indigenous children and the horrific number of Indigenous children subjected to this tool of cultural genocide.

Other late-twentieth-century and twenty-first-century references create this palimpsest of past and present, including those to multiculturalism (in the invocation of Ukrainian, Scottish, and Greek cultural centres [37]), the Taliban (29), A&W Mama Burgers (20), and indeed, the figure of Janey herself. As Zolf explains, her Janey does not derive just from Murphy's Janey Canuck, whose "spunky feminist nationalism" (Coleman 2006, 145) worked to "den[y] the personhood of racial 'inferiors' while it claimed that status for Anglo-Protestant women" (Henderson 2003, 211). Zolf's Janey also incorporates experimental American writer (and "punk pirate") Kathy Acker's Janey Smith, "guerrilla icon" and protagonist of her *Blood and Guts in High School* (1984), who contributes to composition of "Janey Settler-Invader, a fracked-up, mutant (cyborg?) squatter progeny" (Zolf 2014, 117). In a twenty-first century context, a "fracked-up" Janey Settler-Invader powerfully invokes resource extraction on Indigenous lands, the focus of Indigenous resistance at Elsipogtog, most prominently, in October 2013 where peaceful Mi'kmaq protesters encountered violence from the RCMP. Early in Zolf's collection, preceding lines

pertaining to residential schools, we read, “The / aboriginal / youth / community / is a / prime / area / for / development” (22), seemingly an anachronistic, neoliberal translation of the colonial and culturally genocidal impetus behind residential schools. Yet, as Zolf explains in “What Else Said Author Says,” these lines are taken from the website of Youth for Christ, an American evangelical mission in Winnipeg’s North End. Thus, crucially, *Janey’s Arcadia* does not let twenty-first-century Canadians off the hook, just as Zolf’s references in the collection to her grandfather, who immigrated to Canada in the 1920s, embed her own presence in Canada within the settler-invader project of the nation-state.

Zolf’s deployment of OCR-produced and -inspired textual ruptures weaves in a haunting of Zolf’s text by its colonial precursors, but it is not the only form of haunting. Jacques Derrida writes, “No justice […] seems possible or thinkable without the principle of some *responsibility*, beyond all living present, within that which disjoins the living present, before the ghosts of those who are not yet born or who are already dead, be they victims of wars, political or other kinds of violence, nationalist, racist, colonialist, sexist or other kinds of exterminations, victims of the oppressions of capitalist imperialism or any of the forms of totalitarianism” (2006, xviii). Throughout *Janey’s Arcadia*, pages featuring the names of women in handwriting appear intermittently. As the Canadian reader must surely suspect immediately, and is confirmed by Zolf in “What Else Said Author Says,” these names belong to missing and murdered Indigenous women, whose disappearances and deaths yoke together a number of the “exterminations” in Derrida’s list. Along with her insistence on “honouring treaty” (117), Zolf’s representation of missing and murdered Indigenous offers another engagement with key issues of Idle No More. The names continue beyond the final paratext of Zolf’s (“What Else Said Author

Acknowledges") for several, uninterrupted pages, exceeding the bounds of Zolf's writing. Significantly, the names appear throughout the text in handwriting rather than typeface. The names have been written by "scribes," a list of women Zolf thanks "[f]or their bodied inscriptions of grievable names and lives" (121). The work of these scribes offers a contrast and response to the OCR's mechanized mis/reading, even as both kinds of text produce forms of haunting in *Janey's Arcadia*.

However, these women's names also appear in another form, in the various versions of "what women say of the Canadian North-West" (103), ostensibly responses by settler-invader women to questions surrounding "the Indign question" (103), as the OCR would have it, or "problems" with the Indigenous population. The names of the missing and murdered women also appear, but in grey, with their names struck through. Whereas the settler-invader women mostly claim to have no problem with Indigenous people, or indeed, not to have seen any, the Indigenous women's names are accompanied by circumstances surrounding their disappearances or deaths: "Near the water treatment plant"; "On the way to bingo"; "Spectre in a can of luncheon meat" (103). Settler-invader responses, such as Mrs C.P. Newman's, "No; for there are none here" (109) constitute disavowals and erasures of Indigenous presence. Such assertions, in keeping with Murphy/Janey Canuck's insistence in *Janey Canuck in the West* (1910) that "[a] few years hence there will be no Indians" (quoted in Henderson 2003, 179), are haunted by the names of the missing and murdered women interspersed, in alphabetical order, with the settler-invader women's names. If the "original" text of *What Women Say of the Canadian North-West* is, as Zolf indicates, "a CPR immigration-recruitment pamphlet from 1886" (119), the settler-invader nation-state's refusal even so much as to hold an inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women persisted beyond the point of *Janey's Arcadia*'s

publication.[4] As such, *Janey's Arcadia*'s inclusion of the missing and murdered Indigenous women's names, handwritten or greyed out and struck through, offer Zolf's powerful reminder of the impossibility of simply critiquing and containing Canadian settler-invader racism as a relic of the past, given that Indigenous women's "so called 'disappearances' are consistent with [the] project of ongoing dispossession" (Simpson 2016a) as the colonial violence on which the nation-state is based persists in the present.

In contrast to Paré's and Zolf's texts, which do not explicitly name Idle No More in their interrogation of the settler-colonial state, Rita Wong's *undercurrent* references the movement explicitly. However, Wong's previous work also articulated solidarity with Indigenous resistance. Published prior to the advent of Idle No More, Rita Wong's earlier collection, *forage* (2007), evinces such solidarity in her insistence, in "forage, fumage" that "the Indians are still here" (30); her renaming of Vancouver in "parent(h)et(h)ical breath" as "saltwater city, Aboriginal Columbia" (55); her litany, in "hei yow chi lay!," of "ipperwash, gustafsen lake, oka […] returning to the scene of the crime, which you never left" (59); and her Acknowledgements' beginning with the declaration of which Indigenous nations' lands have hosted the writing of the manuscript in locations settler-invaders call Vancouver, Calgary, and Miami (83).[5] That said, Wong's reflection on her position in a June 2014 interview is instructive in its post-Idle No More language:

> Canadian citizens are born into a state where they are expected to be complicit with the violent history of colonialism, but many people refuse that dehumanizing and unethical position. To take personal-political responsibility in such a context means […] educating yourself about the history of where you live [and] working as an ally to support decolonizing and reindigenizing

> efforts, understanding that this is not only a responsibility but also a viable and desirable path to a future that materializes peace and justice, act by act, relationship by relationship, place by place, working from the ground on which we live, work, dream and play. (Lai and Wong 2014)

Wong's work consistently engages with the politics of place and "the history of where [she] live[s]" and demonstrates the "[c]o-existence through co-resistance" that Irlbacher-Fox argues "is the responsibility of settlers" (2014, 223). But if Idle No More presents no rupture in how Wong positions herself and her work in relation to settlement and non-Indigenous peoples' responsibilities to decolonization, here we see the Idle No More-inspired language of allyship surfacing in Wong's reflection and shaping her self-positioning.

Idle No More also explicitly informs some of the content of Wong's 2015 collection, *undercurrent*, particularly the poem "#J28" (which also appears in the 2014 anthology *The Winter We Danced*). The poem begins, "last year, I never imagined we would be" followed by a litany of locations in which round dancing and drumming have taken place (Wong 2015a, 77).[6] Although the poem, in keeping with the global day of action for which it is named, gestures to the resistance posed by figures and movements outside Canada, such as Gandhi and the Zapatistas, it also identifies Canadian locations and, more specifically, the evidence of settler-invader development and resource extraction:

> taking a much needed pause for thought
> on tarsands Highway 63
> on the 401
> on CN rail tracks
> with Aamjiwnaang courage

a human river on Ambassador Bridge
time to stop and respect
remember we are all treaty people
unless we live on unceded lands
where ignorant guests can learn to be better ones
by repealing C-45, for starters (78)

As part of Wong's SSHRC-funded project *Downstream: A Poetics of Water* and its concern for a "participatory water ethics" (Wong 2015b, 210), *undercurrent* unsurprisingly references Bill C-45, given the Harper government's overhauling of the Navigable Waters Protection Act via the omnibus budget bill. To be an ally, Wong's poem suggests, is to "remember we are all treaty people / unless we live on unceded lands," in which case we must learn to become better guests (of the land, of Indigenous peoples). Wong articulates her allyship by insisting, "we have to stand together in many places all at once" as part of an "Indigenous spring" that must be renewed "again & again" (78). Wong concludes the poem with the acknowledgment, "*with gratitude to Chief Theresa Spence and Idle No More for participatory leadership in the service of lands, waters & all living beings*" (79). Like Paré, Wong focuses, especially in *undercurrent*, on water. In contrast to Paré, however, Wong does not concentrate on just one body of water; further, she explicitly politicizes water through the reference to Bill C-45.

Wong's critical and political work clearly infuses her poetics, in conjunction with her own self-positioning. Like Zolf's *Janey's Arcadia*, *undercurrent* disrupts conventional poetry, reconfiguring the page itself. *undercurrent* features a range of quotations in the page's margins from such sources as *Septic Tank Practices* as well as scholars and poets. The lengthy bibliography at the end of the collection

underscores the extent to which *undercurrent* is a product of Wong's research. At the same time, Wong writes herself into *undercurrent*, positioning herself and her relation to Canada "[a]s an (un)settler whose ancestors hail from the Pearl River delta" (89). Chelsea Vowel argues that the term "settler" should be applied "specifically to 'the non-Indigenous peoples living in Canada who form the European-descended socio-political majority" (2016, 16), and prefers the term "non-Black people of colour" for Canadians who are neither Black nor of European descent, arguing that, unlike settlers of the dominant white Canadian mainstream, "non-European migrants do not have the power to bring with them their laws and customs, which they then apply to the rest of the peoples living in Canada[…]. The dominant sociopolitical structures in place remain European in origin" (2016, 17). According to Vowel's deployment of terminology, then, Wong would not be included within the category of "settler." Other scholars contest this position through assertions "that people of colour are settlers" (Lawrence and Dua [2005] 2011, 251), even if the marginalization of settlers of colour means that "settlers benefit from the ongoing colonization of Indigenous people to differing degrees" and "there are multiple ways of being configured as an invasive settler" (Phung 2011, 292, 295). On the one hand, as Malissa Phung argues, "Chinese settlers have also been figured as perpetually *foreign* or *alien*, unsettled settlers posing an invasive threat to the livelihoods of *Indigenized* white settlers" (2011, 295). On the other hand, as Wong herself indicates in her essay "Decolonizasian" (2008), she is concerned with "the challenging relationships between subjects positioned as 'Asian Canadian' and 'indigenous,'" which "raise questions regarding immigrant complicity in the colonization of land as well as the possibility of making alliances toward decolonization" (158-59). For Wong, such a perspective also seeks to avoid an "[o]ppositionality to whiteness" that "still directs

energy toward whiteness without necessarily unpacking the specific problematics of racialized subjects who have inherited the violence of colonization" (158). Thus, Wong's term of the "(un)settler" works to invoke the position of settler while acknowledging the ambivalent position of racialized Canadians with respect to colonization in Canada and alluding to her efforts to work as an ally to Indigenous peoples.

Whereas Wong uses "(un)settler" to articulate her position and her activism, it is clear that, "[f]or every person who has found common cause with the movement's environmental message and who supports Idle No More's cultural spirit, there are many others who […] express fear about the scale and spontaneity of the uprising" (Coates 2015, xviii). Shane Rhodes's *X: Poems & Anti-Poems* (2013) grapples with non-Indigenous Canadians' unease, even rage. Lest we be prematurely celebratory of Canadians' owning up to the status of settler and their complicity in ongoing colonialisms, Rhodes's *X* offers a powerful reminder of many Canadians' *dis*interpellation as settler, at times in evidence through their explicitly white supremacist statements. *X*, the title of which invokes the signature of Indigenous people on treaties, is a book of two halves, as the subtitle indicates. The Poems section interrogates settler presence and discourse in Canada, addressing contemporary settler acknowledgment of Indigenous territories, historical migrations to Canada, and the treaties—particularly the language in which they were written. In contrast, the Anti-Poems section, printed upside-down from the Poems, consists of the piece "White Noise," which is "composed of material harvested from 15,283 public comments posted in response to fifty-five online news articles […] over a forty day period between December 20, 2012 and January 28, 2013" (Rhodes 2013, 128).[7] Like Wong's "#J28," Rhodes's "White Noise," in excerpted form, was also published in

The Winter We Danced. As the time frame indicated in Rhodes's explanation of the "anti-poem's" provenance suggests, Idle No More and Theresa Spence[8] feature prominently in these comments, attracting, for the most part, viciously racist responses. The genocidal legacy of residential schools appears, only to be dismissed: "your little school thing. Who cares?" (91). Idle No More becomes the target of racist puns:

> Honestly, do they want to be "Idle No More"
>
> or "Idle ForEver"?
>
> PAY NO MORE
>
> Idle Some More!
>
> Still Idle After All These Years
>
> Idle Too Long
>
> idle evermore (101)

In ridiculing the fact "that most Indigenous peoples have never been idle in their efforts to protect what is meaningful to our communities—nor will we ever be," as the editors of *The Winter We Dance* note (Kino-nda-niimi Collective 2014b, 21), these trolls attempt to undermine Indigenous resurgence by denying its cultural power, reducing the name of the movement to a litany of racist jokes that highlights mainstream stereotypes about Indigenous peoples.

In the midst of specifically Idle No More-related invective, Chief Spence's body becomes the focus of sexist and racist abuse, ranging from a politely articulated disregard for her health—"Not to be too rude but she still looks morbidly obese" (102)—to the callous—"BTW, does anyone know of odds on Spence surviving?" (102)—to the homicidal: "Chief Fatty Three Chins is right on the firing line. Hopefully she will starve herself" (113). Rhodes's anti-poem thus records how

"Theresa Spence's appearance, her fleshy appearance, was itself a site of ire by commentators on-line, in twitter [*sic*] flame wars, and in print journalism" (Simpson 2016a). By dismissing Spence's claims, the trolls highlight "the matter of settlement's legitimation through indigenous killability" (Simpson 2016b: 3). This indigenous killability extends in the comments beyond Spence to all Indigenous people:

> Tear up the treaties!
>
> Get out the rubber bullets and water cannons!!!!!!
>
> use real bullets
>
> They are a disease that needs to be gotten rid of.
>
> Its [*sic*] time to cull their herd.
>
> napalm? (122)

Whether targeting Spence specifically, or all Indigenous peoples, the trolls explicitly revel in the prospect of genocide, a far cry from the official nation-state discourses of apology and reconciliation.[9] Or, as one commenter responds to the lines above, "It sounds like they want more / than just cultural genocide" (122). At the same time, occasional comments throughout "White Noise" anticipate anti-racist critique as if to pre-empt it, dramatizing a failed interpellation of the white Canadian as settler. In relation to the comments about Chief Spence, one troll writes, "we're all disgusting colonists, right? / What a load of crap" (113). Other comments contest the positioning of non-Indigenous Canadians as settlers: "To state that you own all of the land / and the rest of us are just settlers is meaningless" (98). In this statement, "settler" is considered a demotion, a contesting of non-Indigenous claims to Canada, as indicated in the qualifier of "just," an undermining of white privilege to which the troll refuses to consent.

Although the bulk of "White Noise" consists of racist invective, Rhodes also includes dissenting voices that challenge the trolls. Occasionally, an Indigenous person will respond: "I was eleven years old / when I was first called an Indian whore!!" (120). Most often, however, those responding to the trolls either appear to be non-Indigenous or, if they are Indigenous, do not disclose this identity. Some of these contestations function primarily to attack the trolls, whether because of ideology or perceived intelligence (or both), as in the comment, "There's a rock——> Go crawl under it" (120). Some commenters invoke other manifestations of white supremacy to underscore the trolls' racism: one commenter asks, "Are you a spokesperson for the KKK?" (107), presumably to shame the troll into confronting their own racism; should the trolls speak for Canada, one comment suggests, the country's name might as well be "Klanada" (122). Another commenter draws a parallel between the trolls' views and apartheid, asserting, "I heard comments like this / on Radio South Africa" (108). "I am truly ashamed to be Canadian," writes one person in response to the comments about Chief Spence: "nothing like a bunch of good ol' boys / making jokes about a first nations woman" (102). Between the trolls' comments, then, and the responses of those attempting to call them out, a struggle over what Canada means, and what those commenting *want* it to mean, emerges.

Rhodes provides additional puncturing of the trolls' invective through text and images printed, in palimpsest, on the same pages as the replicated comments, appearing upside down in relation to the comments and in a smaller, italicized font. These additional texts focus on various moments and facts of colonial history in Canada, including statistics on the trade of beaver pelts (102), excerpts from Samuel de Champlain's journal (104), the declining numbers of buffalo (109-10, 124), details of some residential schools (113-14, 116), and parties involved in treaty-making (120-

22). This palimpsestic doubling with the "white noise" of the anti-poem constantly undermines the claims of non-Indigenous Canadians who see their entitlement to Canada through an ahistorical lens and refuse to acknowledge their positions as settlers in the midst of ongoing colonization. The presentation of these textual fragments upside down in relation to the "white noise" (and right-side up in relation to the Poems section of the book) provides a visual indication that the trolls' views, and the assumptions on which they are based, demonstrate a need for a reorientation of the disinterpellated settler subject.

The printing of "White Noise" upside down from the rest of the book suggests that the trolls' commentary on Idle No More and Theresa Spence in particular, and Indigenous peoples in general, represents the flip side of the Internet's role in facilitating the growth of Idle No More, offering a platform not only for Indigenous resurgence but also for the attempted retrenchment of the settler-colonial state and the white supremacist foundations on which it was built and to which the trolls explicitly appeal. One example of countering the trolls appears to represent the most anodyne of Canadian "white civility": "Don't get me wrong; people care about natives / in a general kind of way" (106). The white civil Canadian belief that "[w]e are better than this!" receives the response, "Really??" (127), suggesting that while the trolls may operate on the extreme—because explicit—end of the spectrum of Canadian society, mainstream white Canadian civility is always already complicit with the physical and discursive violence of the settler-colonial state.

"White Noise" is not just the (literal) flip side of Idle No More, but also the flip side of Rhodes's own self-positioning as a settler in the Poems section of *X*. In "You Are Here," the opening poem, Rhodes interrogates the increasingly common practice of non-Indigenous people performing territorial acknowledgments at the

same time as he invokes cartographic conventions, such as those critiqued by Paré in *Lake of Two Mountains*. In response to the Canadian Association of University Teachers' *Guide to Acknowledging Traditional Territory* (2016), Chelsea Vowel, blogging as âpihtawikosisân, writes, "[W]hen territorial acknowledgments first began, they were fairly powerful statements of presence, somewhat shocking, perhaps even unwelcome in settler spaces. They provoked discomfort and centered Indigenous priority on these lands" (2016). Now, however, there is a strong possibility of their co-optation into settler comfort zones: "What may start out as radical push-back against the denial of Indigenous priority and continue [*sic*] presence, may end up repurposed as "box-ticking" inclusion without commitment to any sort of real change" (2016). Rhodes's poem pushes back against the box-ticking itself:

> I would like to acknowledge the Secwepemc, the Cree and the
> Algonquin nations, upon whose territories this book was written
>
> The land was "shovel ready"
>
> I would like to acknowledge I did not ask for permission, that
> I felt too uncomfortable to ask and didn't know how to, that
> I don't know if asking is the answer because I barely know the
> questions (8)

Rhodes articulates the unspoken of territorial acknowledgment: that no permission has been asked, and that territorial acknowledgment as a twenty-first-century form of Canadian white civility rests, to a certain extent, on discomfort. Rhodes names his position in "You Are Here," announcing that "[t]his book, marking its territory on virgin snow and barking at / the fenceline, is about the settlers' dream of legitimacy" (9). When Rhodes writes, "This book I will continue to write until I get it right, and I will / never get it right" (9), he undermines his own legitimacy from the outset.

The next poem, "Preoccupied Space," exposes the fiction of *terra nullius* in its very title, and foregrounds narratives of nineteenth-century migration to Canada. As a flip-side poem to the anti-poem of "White Noise," "Preoccupied Space" rewrites settlement into the narrative of Canadianness, both its ostensibly "civil," or mainstream, and distinctly *un*civil manifestations (as exemplified by the trolls). In the midst of the speaker's recounting of migration narratives, especially his grandmother's from England, the poem both includes and is interrupted by a palimpsest of overlapping lines, in varying shades of grey and black, taking the shape of a body of water that courses across all eighteen pages of the poem. These lines, entwined together within the shape of a river, constitute fragments of migration narratives, some more legible than others, of people from countries such as England, China, Poland, Germany, Russia, and the United States. The insertion of their stories within the space of a river becomes a kind of mapping, although the fragmentary nature of these narratives (and the near-invisibility of some) suggests this map, unlike conventional, colonial cartography, does not attempt to fix the claims of settlers. Rather, in the context of the rest of *X*, under the title of "Preoccupied Space," the immigrants' stories are fleeting. Outside the river on the page, Cree words interrupt the English lines, and questions acting as corrections interrupt overtly colonial discourse. In one settlement narrative outside the lines of the river, we are told that

> many stopped for a good mîcisowin
>
> says 1974 *Pioneers and Progress* […]
>
> "even an Indian
>
> [nêhiyaw? siksiká? (17)

Outside the river lines, the poem moves away from individual settler narratives and towards the signing of treaties:

all these men played

cowboys and Indians

with themselves

signed treaties

with themselves

for land surveyed

by themselves

recorded

on their own paper

with their own words

in their own ink (20)

Rhodes highlights the lack of genuine exchange in the treaty process, through which the colonists have everything to gain. In grey, a handwritten "his x mark," taken from treaty documentation, appears between the lines "by themselves" and "recorded" (20), further underscoring the lack of reciprocity between colonizers and Indigenous peoples in treaty-making and the fact that, "[a]s Indigenous peoples around the world have discovered, a deal is not a deal when it comes to settler governments" (Manuel and Derrickson 2015, 6).

Rhodes connects the present to the past, ongoing colonialisms to historical colonialisms, by inserting the colonial archive into the poem alongside his present-day engagement with that archive:

"*Stolen land* […]

—those are"

says the white archivist

handing me the document (22)

Rhodes's poem provides an example of Razack's hope that settler Canadians might confront the racism fundamental to the nation-state for the purposes of "transcending their bloody beginnings and contemporary inequalities" (2002, 5). The speaker demonstrates a desire to own up to land theft, to re-envision the nation:

if I live in this place

if I live in this time

live in it fully

not in a copy of Europe

not in a present

with no memory

not in the immigrant mind

the children

of settlers carry

that nation

is a dream

nation (27)

In this way, Rhodes contests the "settlers' dream of legitimacy" as based on the fantasy of *terra nullius*, demanding that non-Indigenous Canadians own up to their occupation of pre(-)occupied space.

As the Kino-nda-niimi Collective writes, Idle No More "engaged the oft-slumbering Canadian public as never before" (2014b, 22). Using a range of different aesthetic strategies, and writing from very different positions in Canada, Paré, Zolf,

Wong, and Rhodes engage, implicitly and explicitly, with demands for a decolonizing justice. Although it may not be possible to cross the settler "privilege line" that Irlbacher-Fox identifies, these writers do acknowledge and confront it in their poetry, demonstrating the "personal transformation" she calls for from settler allies, with Paré articulating her unbelonging at the Lake of Two Mountains, Zolf and Rhodes positioning themselves self-reflexively and critically in literary, social, and familial lineages of settler-invasion, and Wong advocating for a reconstructed hospitality between (un)settlers and unceded territories that underpins an activist urgency to wake up mainstream Canada. These poets' post-Idle No More interrogation of settlement "make[s] […] settler culture feel more than a little unsettled," not for the purposes of escalating settler anxiety about "pay[ing] for the sins of [their] predecessors" (Cariou 2006, 730), but rather to encourage a self-examination that will lead to meaningful social and political change. Idle No More "changed the vocabulary of a nation" (Coates 2015, 160), enabling a vocabulary of settlement to circulate more generally. The vocabulary itself, however, is just one aspect of "understanding of the complex relationship between the different peoples on the land and under settler colonialism" (Battell Lowman and Barker 2015, 122), with some settler Canadians, such as the writers discussed in this article, owning up to their position by consenting to their interpellation as such, whether implicitly or explicitly in these works. And yet language, as the poetics of these writers demonstrate, is crucial, as their poetry imagines new ways of grappling with the settler subject. As non-Indigenous writers from different ethnic communities with their own relationships to dominant constructions of Canadianness, Paré, Zolf, Wong, and Rhodes reflect a post-Idle No More moment, forging new poetics and discourses to address and contest the settlement on which the Canadian nation-state was founded and reproduces itself, as

they each own up to and critique the ongoing project of non-Indigenous settlement and Indigenous dispossession, and demand justice in the present.

Notes

[1] Thanks to the anonymous peer reviewers for their invaluable advice.

[2] From *Lake of Two Mountains* © Arleen Paré, 2014. Used with the permission of the author and Brick Books.

[3] From *Janey's Arcadia* © Rachel Zolf, 2014. Used with the permission of Coach House Books.

[4] The National Inquiry Into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls was launched by Justin Trudeau's government in September 2016. Concerns have been raised about the scope and terms of the inquiry, including the discrepancy between RCMP and the Native Women's Association of Canada's estimates of the number of missing and murdered Indigenous women, the lack of Inuit representation on the commission, and police complicity in violence towards Indigenous women (see Pember 2016).

[5] From *forage* by Rita Wong, Nightwood Editions, 2007, www.nightwoodeditions.com.

[6] From *undercurrent* by Rita Wong, Nightwood Editions, 2015, www.nightwoodeditions.com.

[7] From *X* by Shane Rhodes, Nightwood Editions, 2013, www.nightwoodeditions.com.

[8] The relationship between Chief Theresa Spence of Attawapiskat and Idle No More has prompted diverging interpretations. For instance, Coates claims Spence's hunger strike was a "distraction" (2015, 77) from the movement, while for others, Spence's resistance "became a piece" with Idle No More (Simpson 2016a): according to Arthur

Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald M. Derrickson, "Chief Spence's principled and dignified move further galvanized the Idle No More movement" (2015, 214).

[9] And yet, as Audra Simpson points out, those official discourses work simultaneously to perform the state's contrition and to absolve it, as evidenced by Stephen Harper's official apology for residential schools in 2008, followed by his assertion at the G20 meeting in Pittsburgh in 2009 that Canada has "no history of colonialism," allowing "the techniques of dispossession [to] continue" (2016b, 2).

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